

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, UN

SUBJ US/SOVIET COOPERATION ON UN ISSUES

REF: (A) STATE 140161

(B) MOSCOW 8517

1. WE AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS SIMILAR TO THOSE HELD WITH OTHER MAJOR POWERS AND CERTAIN ALLIES COULD BE USEFUL AS FUTURE TARGET. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT FORMAT OF CONSULTATIONS IN CAPITALS WOULD PROVIDE US OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE TO MORE DIFFICULT FOR SOVIETS TO COME UP WITH UNPLEASANT SURPRISES DURING GA. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS PREMATURE TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO THIS TYPE OF CONSULTATION AT THIS POINT.

2. FOR SEVERAL YEARS WE HAVE HELD AD HOC CONSULTATIONS HERE WITH SOVIETS, ON ITEM-BY-ITEM BASIS. WE ALSO REVIEWED AGENDA EARLY LAST SEPTEMBER AT LUNCHEON WITH MALIK AND KEY STAFF. IN EARLY SEPTEMBER MEETING WITH PRC PERMREP
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HUANG LAST YEAR, WE CONDUCTED BROAD REVIEW, LATER

SUPPLEMENTED BY AD HOC DISCUSSIONS WITH PRC MISSION STAFF. THESE MEETINGS HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT USEFUL, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE TENDED TO REVEAL MORE OF OUR HAND THAN OF SOVIETS' OR CHINESE'.

3. IN MONTHS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING GA, WE CONSULT HERE-- IN ADDITION TO BILATERALS IN CAPITALS WITH UK, FRANCE AND JAPANESE--WITH NUMBER OF ALLIES, SOME ON COMMITTEE BY COMMITTEE OR ITEM BY ITEM BASIS AND OTHERS COVERING AGENDA MORE BROADLY. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO HOLD BILATERALS IN CAPITALS WITH SOVIETS UNTIL WE HAD ENGAGED IN SUBSTANTIVE AND REASONABLY BROAD DISCUSSION, AT LEAST IN NEW YORK, WITH OTHER KEY COLLABORATORS HERE SUCH AS CANADIANS AND BELGIANS AND OTHER WEO'S. CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS AND WITH CHINESE SHOULD TAKE SECOND PLACE TO THESE AS MATTER OF CREDIBILITY WITH OUR ALLIES.

4. SOVIETS HERE ARE ALMOST OVERLY EAGER TO PROMOTE "SUPERPOWER" IDENTITY OF VIEWS WHEREVER POSSIBLE. AS PARA 2 REFTTEL FROM EMBASSY MOSCOW INDICATES, WE HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SENSITIVITIES OF OTHERS, INCLUDING PRC, ABOUT US-USSR CONDOMINIUM. MOREOVER AS USUN ACTIVELY AWARE FROM LAST YEAR'S EXPERIENCE SOVIETS HAVE HABIT OF NOT PLAYING THE GAME EVEN AFTER THEY HAVE AGREED TO DO SO.

5. FOR THESE REASONS WE FAVOR MOVING SLOWLY WITH SOVIETS ON THIS PROPOSAL. SOVIETS ARE REPRESENTED HERE BY A DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WHO CAN SPEAK FOR USSR ON ANY SUBJECT WITHIN UN FRAMEWORK. WE ASSUME ASSISTANT SECRETARY POPPER COULD PARTICIPATE WITHOUT TOO MUCH INCONVENIENCE, THEREFORE WE PROPOSE THAT WE MAKE PARTICULAR EFFORT TOWARD PRODUCTIVE SUBSTANTIVE BILATERALS IN NEW YORK WITH MALIK THIS YEAR, SEE HOW THESE GO AND PLAN TO EXPERIMENT AGAIN HERE IN 1974. WE CAN MAKE POINT TO SOVIETS (WITHOUT OFFENSE, WE SHOULD THINK) THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO BEEF UP BILATERALS FOR EXPERIMENTAL COUPLE OF YEARS IN NEW YORK AND THEN REVIEW POSSIBLE ADVANTAGES OF MEETING IN CAPITALS.

6. ALTHOUGH WE DON'T WISH TO BE OVERLY CYNICAL AND WE HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR ISSRAELYAN'S ABILITY, WE WONDER
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WHETHER MALIK'S FORMER DEPUTY MIGHT NOT HAVE SOME BUREAUCRATIC ONE-UPSMANSHIP IN MIND IN HIS ENTHUSIAISM FOR BILATERALS TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON OR ON HIS FUTURE TURF. THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD SEEM TO US AN ADDED REASON FOR MOVING CAUTIOUSLY AND, IN ANY EVENT, FOR FOCUSING ON MALIK HERE IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR BILATERALS RATHER THAN PURSUING THE MATTER IN MOSCOW.

7. WE SHARE EMBASSY MOSCOW'S RESERVATIONS ABOUT GA RES.
CONCERNING DETENTE.
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